

**History G8592**  
**Social History of American Medicine:**  
**The History of Human Experimentation**

**Professor David J. Rothman**  
**Fall Semester, 2002**

This seminar is designed to introduce graduate students to the social history of medicine through an in-depth analysis of one vital activity: human experimentation in Europe and the United States. This focus will enable us to explore in greater depth the complex relationships between society and medicine.

Requirements for the seminar include reading and intensive class discussion. Students will also submit a paper, which need not be based on primary sources. It may constitute a discerning review of the literature addressing a particular theme or incident.

The few books that have been ordered for the course are marked with an asterisk. Copies of all the readings will be available in the Bremner Reader Room in Fayerweather Hall and in the Hammer Library. Students who wish background readings in the general history of medicine may consult Robert E. Hudson, Disease and its Control, or Roy Porter, The Greatest Benefit to Mankind.

## **I. Experimental Medicine in the Age of Pasteur**

Edward Jenner, “An Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of the Variolae Vaccinae, or Cow Pox,” reprinted in Rothman, Marcus, and Kiceluk, Medicine and Western Civilization, pp. 299-309.

Claude Bernard, An Introduction to the Study of Experimental Medicine (New York, 1927), pp. 5-21, 94-112.

Gerald L. Geison, The Private Science of Louis Pasteur (Princeton, 1995), chs.1, 7-9.

Bert Hansen, “America’s First Medical Breakthrough: How Popular Excitement About a French Rabies Cure in 1885 Raised New Expectations for Medical Progress,” American Historical Review, April 1998.

## **II. The First Research Subjects**

\* Michel Foucault, The Birth of the Clinic (New York, 1994 ed.), chs. 3, 5-9.

Coral Lansbury, The Old Brown Dog: Women, Workers, and Vivisection in Edwardian England (Madison, Wisconsin, 1985), chs. 1-4.

\* H.G. Wells, Island of Dr. Moreau (Random House 2002, © 1896).

Joseph Goldberger and G.A. Wheeler, “The Experimental Production of Pellagra in Human Subjects by Means of Diet,” U.S.P.H.S. Hygienic Laboratory, Bulletin 120, February 1920.

\* Susan E. Lederer, Subjected to Science: Human Experimentation in America before the Second World War (Baltimore, 1995), chs. 2, 4-5.

Susan E. Lederer, “Orphans As Guinea Pigs,” in Roger Cooter, ed., In the Name of the Child: Health and Welfare, 1880-1940 (New York, 1992), ch. 4.

## **III. The World War II Experience**

George J. Annas and Michael A. Grodin, The Nazi Doctors and the Nuremberg Code: Human Rights in Human Experimentation (New York, 1992), chs. 1-7,11.

Robert Jay Lifton, The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide (New York, 1986), chs. 15,17.

Jon M. Harkness, "Nuremberg and the Issue of Wartime Experiments on US Prisoners: The Green Committee," Journal of the American Medical Association, 1996, Vol. 276, pp. 1672-1675.

Robert L. Berger, "Nazi Science: The Dachau Hypothermia Experiments," New England Journal of Medicine, 1990, Vol. 322, pp. 1435-1440.

Paul Weindling, "Human Guinea Pigs and the Ethics of Experimentation: The BMF's Correspondent at the Nuremberg Medical Trial," British Medical Journal, 1996, Vol. 313, pp. 1467-1470.

David J. Rothman, Strangers at the Bedside: A History of How Law and Bioethics Transformed Medical Decision Making (New York, 1991), chs. 1-2.

#### **IV. The New War Against Disease**

H.K. Beecher, "Ethics & Clinical Research," New England Journal of Medicine, June 1966, Vol. 74, pp. 1354-1360.

David J. Rothman, Strangers at the Bedside, chs. 3-5.

Declaration of Helsinki & The Belmont Report, reprinted in Harold Y. Vanderpool, ed., The Ethics of Research Involving Human Subjects: Facing the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Maryland, 1996), pp. 433-448.

Susan E. Lederer, "Research Without Borders: The Origins of the Declaration of Helsinki," (Publication Forthcoming).

Jay Katz, "The Jewish Chronic Disease Hospital Case," Experimentation with Human Beings (New York, 1972), ch. 1.

Stanley Milgram, "Behavioral Study of Obedience," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1963, Vol.67, pp. 371-378.

Diana Baumrind, "Some Thoughts on Ethics of Research: After Reading Milgram's Behavioral Study of Obedience," American Psychologist, 1964, pp. 421-423.

Heather M. Prescott, "Using the Student Body: College and University Students as Research Subjects in the United States During the Twentieth Century," Journal of the History of Medicine, January 2002, Vol. 57, pp. 3-38.

## **V. Tuskegee**

Allan M. Brandt, "Racism and Research: The Case of the Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment," Hastings Report, 1978, pp. 21-29.

David J. Rothman, "Were Tuskegee & Willowbrook Studies in Nature?" Hastings Report, 1982, Vol. 12, pp. 5-7.

Susan M. Reverby, "Rethinking the Tuskegee Syphilis Study: Nurse Rivers, Silence and the Meaning of Treatment," Nursing History Review, 1999, pp. 3-28.

Giselle Corbie-Smith, "The Continuing Legacy of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study: Considerations for Clinical Investigation," American Journal of the Medical Sciences, January 1999, Vol. 317, pp. 5-8.

Thomas G. Benedek and Jonathon Erlen, "The Scientific Environment of the Tuskegee Study of Syphilis, 1920-1960," Perspectives in Biology and Medicine, 1999, Vol. 43, pp. 1-30.

Vanessa Northington Gamble, "A Legacy of Distrust: African Americans and Medical Research," American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 1993, Vol. 9, pp. 35-38.

## **VI. Cold War Research**

Final Report of the Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments (New York, 1996), chs. 5, 7, 9, 11.

Sharon R. Kaufman, "The World War II Plutonium Experiments: Contested Stories and Their Lessons For Medical Research and Informed Consent," Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry, 1997, Vol. 21, pp. 161-197.

"Cincinnati Radiation Litigation," United States District Court for the Southern District of Ohio, Western Division, January 11, 1995, 874 F. Supp. 796, U.S. District.

## **VII. Human Experimentation in a World of AIDS**

David J. Rothman and Harold Edgar, "New Rules for New Drugs: The Challenge of AIDS to the Regulatory Process," Milbank Quarterly, 1990, Vol. 68, Supp. 1, pp. 111-142.

David J. Rothman and Harold Edgar, "Scientific Rigor and Medical Realities: Placebo Trials in Cancer and AIDS Research," in Elizabeth Fee and Daniel Fox, eds., AIDS: The Making of a Chronic Disease (California, 1992), pp. 194-206.

David J. Rothman and Harold Edgar, "The Institutional Review Board and Beyond: Future Challenges to the Ethics of Human Experimentation," Milbank Quarterly, 1995, Vol. 73, pp. 489-506.

### **VIII. Human Experimentation in the Third World**

Armando Solorzano, "The Rockefeller Foundation in Revolutionary Mexico: Yellow Fever in Yucatan and Veracruz," in Marcos Cueto, ed., Missionaries of Science: The Rockefeller Foundation and Latin America (Indiana, 1994), ch. 3.

Robert J. Levine, "The Need to Revise the Declaration of Helsinki," New England Journal of Medicine, August 12, 1999, Vol. 341, pp. 531-534.

Greg Koski, "Research Involving Human Subjects in Developing Countries," New England Journal of Medicine, July 12, 2001, Vol. 345, pp. 136-138.

Harold T. Shapiro and Eric M. Meslin, "Ethical Issues in the Design and Conduct of Clinical Trials in Developing Countries," New England Journal of Medicine, July 12, 2001, Vol. 345, pp. 139-142.

David J. Rothman, "The Shame of Medical Research," New York Review of Books, November 30, 2000.

"Medical Morals: An Exchange," response of Barry R. Bloom to 'Shame of Medical Research' and reply by David J. Rothman, New York Review of Books, March 8, 2001.

"The Shame of Medical Research: An Exchange," response of John F. Murray to 'Shame' article, and reply by David J. Rothman, New York Review of Books, May 17, 2001.

### **IX. Looking to the Future**

Ira H. Carmen, "A Death in the Laboratory: The Politics of the Gelsinger Aftermath," Molecular Therapy, April 2001, Vol. 3, pp. 425-428.

Eric M. Meslin, "Of Clones, Stem Cells, and Children: Issues and Challenges in Human Research Ethics," Journal of Women's Health & Gender-Based Medicine, 2000, Vol. 9, pp. 831-841.

Thomas Bodenheimer, "Uneasy-Clinical Investigators and the Pharmaceutical Industry," New England Journal of Medicine, May 18, 2000, Vol. 342, pp. 1539-1544.

Donna Shalala, "Protecting Research Subjects-What Must Be Done," New England Journal of Medicine, September 14, 2000, Vol. 343, pp. 808-810.

